



SRIMATI AKSHAY KUMARI DEBI

RENAISSANCE OF HINDUISM
AND
THE FEDERATED STATES OF HINDUSTAN

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PREFACE

Can Hinduism be *rationalized* ! This is a natural question and a problem for every right-thinking Hindu. Hinduism is an eclectic faith. It has no fixed tenet or dogma. Its religious principle is catholic, free and elastic. But its traditional customs—its rules of caste and marriage—are rigid and narrow. Its priesthood is besotted with ancient primitive superstitions. Instead of advancing, it rather dreads the *time-spirit* of scientific progress and investigations. Can it be re-modeled to suit the requirements of the *Rational age* ? Yes it can be. And it should be the striving of every Hindu to advance the realization of this religious evolution of *social utility*. There is no reason for pessimism. Every religion like Hinduism is conservative, and is a mosaic of faith, credulity and superstitions. That is no reason, religion should be ignored. Rather attempts may be honestly made to reform it so that social progress may be accelerated.

Aksaya Kumari Devi

RENAISSANCE OF HINDUISM

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RELIGION

Religious and social reformative movements are an ancient history of India. Mahavira, Buddha, Kavir, Nanak, Chaitanya, Ram Mohan Ray, Dayananda, and hundreds of others have tried to introduce reforms into Hinduism. But instead of reforming it, they have but added to it a separate sect of their own. The question is, therefore whether an another reformative attempt would not be attended by an additional cleavage, instead of fusing them all and infusing into it progressive rationalistic zeal. When *Religion* will be simply regarded as a personal *belief* and rites and customs will be subjected to the rigid tests of social service and utility, devoid of religious significance, there is every reason to believe that all Hindu sects may be united again. This was so in the glorious tolerant age of Buddhism when in the same family different members professed various religions of Buddhism, Jainism, Saivaism and Vaisnavism without any disturbance of family unity or mental harmony. Not only Hinduism must absorb Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs, Bhramos and Arya Samajists, but

there is no reason why in this advanced time in the rich and variegated Hindu Pantheon two more interesting great *World Souls*, incarnating high and noble principles of Humanity, can not be incorporated to make it richer and fuller as daily new *saints* are being added to it viz. Chaitanya and Ram Krishna Paramahansa. In the same family members generally profess different schools of philosophy and politics as there are different tastes for food without causing any disharmony and friction. Why then they should not be able to live together harmoniously, admiring and adoring different Great Personalities of the world as Krishna, Ramchandra, Mahabir, Buddha, Confucius, Christ and Mahamed. This religious synthesis and mutual toleration are required for this rational age. It may not suffice. Hinduism must reform from within so that not only its votaries would be progressive but it would by its inherent superiority attract to it members from other religious associations. Expansion and growth are signs of life. On the other hand stagnation is a cardinal symptom of decadence and death. If Hinduism wants to live and thrive, it must adapt itself to new conditions of life, assimilating rationalistic thoughts and ideals and discarding corroding putrescence of degrading superstitions.

Polytheism and Monotheism

Is polytheistic practice antagonistic to the monotheistic ideal? Not necessarily so. Though the Hindu public have many gods and are fond of idol worship; yet many of their leaders are pure monists of the *Vedantic* school of Sankaracharya. Idol worship with incense, music, flowers, fruits and feasts affords varied refreshing amusements and entertainments to children, who enjoy it immensely. Only it is necessary, therefore, that the meaningless priestcraft be divorced from it and idols are made in community centres—artistic and suggestive.

Sarasvati the Goddess of learning with her lovely fair complexion, attired in simple but graceful white robe, holding *Vina* or violin in her hands, is really very artistic. No wonder she is a favourite patron deity of all classes of people, especially of the student community. The *Sarasvati Puja* can be easily secularized. Instead of worshipping her in private homes, she should be adored in schools and colleges, literary and artistic clubs and associations, and connected with this festival there should be debates and conventions in science and art, of local as well as of

national character, with prizes and gifts for the promotion of learning. All the learned societies should fix their annual gathering on this occasion. This new orientation is quite in accordance with the ideal and inspiration of the Goddess of Learning, the most sublime conception of the Hindu Pantheon.

Laksmi is the *Goddess of Prosperity*. On this festivity there should be agricultural and industrial *Exhibitions* in every village and civic centre, for industry is the basis of national wealth. On this occasion there should be annual gatherings of the Economic Societies, Banking Associations and Financial Institutions.

Annapurna is the *Goddess of Plenty*. It is the autumnal harvest festival. The season is also delightful with deep blue clear sky and bright silvery moon, especially as it happens to be after the mouldy and gloomy depressing rainy months. The *Annapurna* festival is known in different parts of India in different names viz. *Durga Puja* in Bengal, *Ram Navami* in Hindustan proper and *Nav Ratri* in Rujputna and Gujrat. It should be made the *National Thanks Giving Day*, in the concrete form of organizing and maintaining Hospitals and Charitable Institutions for the relief of the sick and the distressed, and to discuss and devise

means to eliminate disease, poverty and misery as much as possible from the society.

Krishna's Janmastami might be used for *Child Welfare* and *Maternity Clinics*. Prizes might be offered and given for the most healthy baby as well as well as for minimum of child mortality in towns.

Visvakarma is the architect of the universe. It may be used as a *Labour Day*. On this day harmonious adjustments between *Capital* and *Labour* may be discussed.

Ganapati was the representative scribe of the gods. He was the popular god of *Democracy*. On *Ganapati* festival which is prevalent particularly in Maharashtra, discussions of political democracy and representative Government may be made with great advantage.

Kartikeya or *Subramanyam* is the Commander-in-chief of the gods. *Physical Culture* should be the theme of this day. Feats of valor may be rewarded and annual sports would take place on *Kartikya* holidays.

Sradha is the reverential offering to the ancestors. On this day the lives of national heroes, martyrs, scholars and saints may be discussed with great profit. It will be the day for the Historians.

Kamadeva or Madan Trayodasi may be lovers' tryst as St. Valentine's day in Europe when valiant lovely maidens may offer their hands and heart to the chosen heroes of their souls, and fix and arrange their own marriage based on mutual love, reciprocity of feelings and sentiments.

Holi is the spring carnival. Mind seeks release from nervous cares and pre-occupations. Instead of drowning cares of the soul in sprituous liquor, this innocent merry-making of *Holi* is an excellent sedative and recuperative stimulant in the land where smiles have been practically banished.

Dipavali or Dewali is the New year's fete in which every mansion as well every hamlet is illuminated at the night fall. Every town certainly presents a brilliant and glorious spectacle. New business account is also opened on this day.

The object of religion is personal as well as social improvements in health, wealth, social and spiritual values. Hinduism serves that purpose nobly. The *Mother Conception of God* is certainly a unique contribution. Christianity and Islam know their God as their Father. Hinduism regards God both as father and mother. *Mother* evokes in us undoubtedly more tender

relationship than father. Hinduism also provided facilities for family harmony and union, as the following ceremonies show.

Bhratri Ditia is a very pleasant ceremony. In this sister invites her brother to her home and with affectionate and loving solicitude prays for his long life and happiness and presents him with useful gifts as souvenirs of the occasion.

Jamai Sasti is another family re-union. In this father, mother or brother invites the married daughter or sister with her husband, and praying for their long life, happiness and prosperity, loads them with presents.

The existing temples can be easily converted into schools for the religious minded adult population through devotional songs and theatricals, studies and recitations of the sacred scriptures, emphasizing the importance of personal and public hygiene, mutual co-operation and social service, simplicity of living and high thinking.

Sacred temples of Hinduism are generally situated either in ancient towns of great historic importance or in beautiful scenic spots. Pilgrimages to some of them, especially of Amarnath in the Ledor valley of Kashmir, Kedarnath in Tehri Garhwal, Manasarovar in Tibet or Pasupatinath in Nepal add high adventures to interesting

studies in anthropology, sociology, botany and geology, as paths lead through splendid mountain valeys, grand glaciers, and unparalleled panorama of snow-capped peaks. If comfortable convenient Hotels can be built on selected spots for meditation, contemplation and recuperation of health of the Hindus, they would not only be remunerative but would also advance the cause of Hinduism, at the same time perpetuating the memory of the donors.

Social Aspects of Hinduism

Hinduism in the medieval age was a *Social Republic*, based on *division of labor*. Even the tiniest village in a remote corner was an autonomous unit of the grand Republic of Bharatavarsa. Brahmins taught arts and crafts and administered to the religious needs of the people and in exchange received food, clothes and other necessities of life. The *Kshatrias* defended the fortifications against foreign incursions and maintained law and order for which they received about one-sixths of the products of the soil. The *Vaisyas* were the farmers and merchants—the real producers of national wealth. The iron-smith

made the plough for which in exchange he received a part of the produce of the soil. The barber and the washerman shaved and washed clothes of all the people, in exchange of religious instructions and rites from the Brahmins, protection of life, property and freedom of movements from the *Kshatrias*, grains and pulses from the *Vaisayas*, clothes from the weavers and so on from every professional class. The weaver in exchange for the products of his looms used to get similarly the services and goods from the rest of the community. The *Nishadas*, that is the aboriginal people, had to live beyond the bounds of the villages and used to live by hunting and fishing and had meat stalls within the village. The village was closely knit. Each member of the community was dependent on others as members of the same family in fine harmonious adjustments. If anybody did anything wrong, he was tried by the *Panehais*—five elders chosen from the people. If any monstrous crime was committed, the criminal was excommunicated, that is, the priest would not administer to his religious needs, milkman would not supply him with milk, barber would not shave him, washerman would not wash his clothes and he would neither get any girl for him as his wife nor any bride if he has any son.

This would bring him under submission of the self-reformative influences of the society, or the society would be got rid of the criminal's baneful contacts.

This mutual dependence and cohering influences of the early Hindu Society was first disturbed by Moslem invasions and now is fast loosing all potency either for good or for evil. Each village community was a self-contained autonomous unit. The simple needs of the village used to be satisfied with the crude labour of the villagers. There was very little incentive for progress, as exchange of ideas and commodities was difficult, owing to difficulties in transportation and communications with distant lands. With the Moslem administration the *Kshatrias* lost their domination, the Brahmins lost their honourable position and supremacy. It was no more the *Smriti Pandits* that made legal canons and gave verdicts in judicial proceedings but the *Kajis*. India which was practically isolated from the rest of the world came into close unfriendly contact with Western Asia. But the Moslem influence was strongly felt in imperial cities, near military camps and near highways. The distant village communities practically managed their affairs without much disturbance. With the advent of the English the disruption of the Hindu

social system has began with revolutionary violence. The village industries of crude manual labor have ceased functioning, being worsted in competition with the mechanical products of modern scientific inventions. The village hand looms can not compete with steam power cotton mills. The unrefined vegetable dyes can not vie in brilliance and colour with the aniline products of Germany. The toy makers of wood and clay have to compete with the excellent manufactures of Nuremberg and Japan. The crude herbes of the Vaishyas can not compete in potency and therapeutic value with the standard drugs and hormone products of modern laboratories, and though the gland preparations are made from bulls and swine, the Hindus are taking them with avidity for health and rejuvenation. The bullock cart has to go before the motor car. Professions have also changed with this industrial disturbance and consequent economic confusion. Professions are no longer hereditary. Brahmin pupils have to sit in the same class with all castes and creeds under an un-touchable teacher—pariah, Mussulman, Christian or European. Due to economic stress and the democratic tendency the Brahmins have taken to different kinds of business, even tanning and laundry which are forbidden in the Hindu law. In boarding houses,

offices and long railway journeys, one has to take drinks and refreshments for comfort and health with others which is not permissible. Rigid Hindu orthodoxy no longer can or dare enforce its rules of social excommunication, as in modern towns one can easily hire priests, barbers or washerman without any question. Moreover Hindu orthodoxy is not only impracticable; it is also being severely undermined by modern science. Hinduism in order to thrive has to accommodate itself to the present and future requirements of the age. Most of the princes have began to make annual pilgrimages to London, Paris, Geneva, Berlin and Rome for political purposes and for pleasure instead of Benares, Nasik, Hardwar. There are nearly 4000 Hindu students in England, 1000 in Germany, 200 in France, 800 in U. S. A. and 200 in Japan, children of the most educated, rich and influential families. They will go in increasing numbers abroad. Though a few weak-kneed souls may submit as a social convenience to the admission into the orthodox citadel by making *Prayachitta*, the majorities would not submit to such a humiliating proposal against their conscience. It is inconceivable that Hinduism could remain any dynamic factor in national life by excluding the Maharajas of Udaipur, Baroda, Kashmir, Darbhanga,

Bikanir, Alwar et cetera ; the families of Gandhi, Nehru, Sapru, Munje, Jayakar, Tagore, Raman and others and about 60,000 foreign-returned scholars who are the real assets, pride and glory of India in intellectual resourcefulness, executive ability, industrial enterprise and patriotic endeavours for the amelioration of the cause of the country. The Hindu society at present is ignoring in cases of high personalities the ban against sea-voyage. This has to be officially repealed. These foreign-educated young men have seen the advantages of co-education and adult marriage, based on mutual selection and reciprocal feelings. If these highly educated youths are forced to marry immature girls who have no education, no conception of personal and civic hygiene, no knowledge of domestic science, no idea of child's discipline and education, no high ideal of life, their life becomes a comic-tragedy, and the nation suffers an irreparable loss in its arrested advancement and progress. To accomodate them and the increasing numbers of educated youths, the marriage age of girls is being slowly increased, but not yet radically enough. What is necessary therefore is to permit the girls to remain unmarried as long as they want and after they are twenty years old they may select their husbands.

as they please. Some of these foreign returned youths have married European girls. They as well as the left wingers of Hinduism—Arya Samajists, Brahmos and the radical intellectuals—have lost faith in the sanctity of castes. It is very hard to select a suitable husband or wife in the same caste as it is divided into many subdivisions who do not intermarry among themselves, as the Brahmin caste consists of nearly 1400 septs. And inbreeding leads to racial degeneration. Amongst the higher castes there is hardly any distinction in physical appearance, intellectual resources, outlook of life and ideals. There is no reason, therefore, why there should not be inter-caste marriage among them by removing the artificial taboo. Not only this, for the revitalization of the Hindu society, inter-communal marriage and re-marriage of widows are also necessary. Not a few of the Christians and Moslems who or their parents forsook Hinduism by selfish inducements or allurements of Missionaries want to return to the Hindu fold, being disenchanted by tantalizing hopes. They can not do so until and unless they get full assurance from the Hindu society that they will be taken back into the Hindu society and allowed to mix freely with the Hindus according to their social position and there would be no restriction of marriage.

with them. Though Buddhism is a reformed branch of Hinduism, yet the Hindu immigrants to Ceylon and Burma remain aliens as they do not intermarry with the Buddhists, while the Moslems become natives of the soil by free intermarriage with the Buddhists and multiply their kind. Our food question is also incongruously ridiculous to absurdity. Brahmins generally do not take each other's food cooked by them. It is a common saying that twelve *Kanojia* Brahmins need thirteen ovens. Cooked food touched by a non-Brahmin is a pollution and would not be taken by any one. Yet we take sweetmeats from any Hindu. Water touched by a parish is polluted ; yet we do not hesitate to take soda-water, tea, bread and biscuits from any Moslem or Christian, nay even gland products and meat extracts from Europe. Cooking should be the work of a servant—neat, clean and free from any contagious disease—who knows the culinary arts—and not of a Brahmin whose ideal should be a nobler performance of duty. Food and marriage have indeed no religious significance. They are simply social problems. They, therefore, should be rationalized.

to demand better
but not to be

Federated States of Hindustan.

After outcome of the *Round Table Conference*, nothing more tangible comes out than the conception of **Federated States of Hindustan**, it will still remain a great triumphant victory of Indian nationalism. We have been dreaming of course, for a long time, but we did not know that it was within the range of practical politics. The deep-seated nationalism of the princes and the patriotic sacrifices of the Nationalists have made it possible. The British statesmen might have introduced the Princes into the *Federal Structure* in order to

ate a conservative brake in the *Central Government* against the sweeping socialistic tendency of young Nationalists. There is no harm in it. The Princes are not so moribund and conservative as it is commonly believed. Their wide travelling and observations of the progressive activities of European and American States have inculcated them with the beneficial spirit of *Modern Democracy*. And in the further evolution of Indian Nationalism, the fundamental rights of the people can not but be granted and there would be introduced the democratic rule of the people by the people and for the people, and the Princes would be converted into

FEDERATED STATES OF HINDUSTAN¹

hereditary constitutional puppets and may play the useful role as Indian ambassadors to the remaining few existing monarchies in Europe and Asia, like the nobles of England or the nobles in the last German Empire. We must not suspect the good intentions of our Princes. They are own men. Their subjects are own fellow brethren. Leaving them apart we can not evolve a sound political administrative machinery for the rest of India. India is an organic whole from cultural, military and political point of view.

India can be divided into twentyone States on Jinguistic basis and treaty obligations, to be united by an inseparable federal link like the U S. A. Language has a close relationship and political genius of the people. It exerts a subtle phythic influence. Land revenue, registration and certificates of registration of births, citizenship, marriage, death, and inheritance should be its main sources of income. Farmers should pay their revenue directly to the state, and not through *Zamindars*. *Zamindari* syetem must be abolished, after due compensation to the owners, if possible. Within the State of Rajputna, all the component units will be autonomous within their own borders like muncipal governments.

Federated States of Hindustan

Present Name	Language	Future Designation	Population	Capital
1. Bengal (47M)				
and Assam (7 M)	Bengali	Banga	54 Millions	Calcutta
2. Bihar	Magadhi Hindi	Magadha	35 Millions	Patna or Pushpapur
3. United Province	Hindi	Aryavartha	76½ Millions	Lucknow or Agra
4. Punjab	Punjabi	Punjab	20 Millions	Lahore or Amrit-swar
5. Maharashtra	Marathi	Maharashtra	25 Millions	Bombay or Poona
6. Gujarat	Gujarati	Gujrat	15 Millions	Ahmedabad
7. Orissa	Oriya	Orissa	12 Millions	Puri
8. Rajputna	Rajasthani Hindi	Rajputna	12 Millions	Ajmere or Chitor
9. Andra	Telungu	Andra	16 Millions	Vizzagapattan
10. Dravida	Tamil	Dravida	20 Millions	Madras
11. Sindhu	Sindhi	Sindhu	5 Millions	Karachf

Federated States of Hindustan

Present Name	Language	Future Designation	Population	Capital
12. Hyderabad	Telugu, Urdu	Hyderabad	13 Millions	Hyderabad
13. Mysore	Kanarese	Mysore	6 Millions	Bangalore
14. Baroda	Gujrati	Baroda	2 Millions	Baroda
15. Travancore & Cochin	Malayalam	Trivankur	4½ Millions	Trivandrum
16. Kashmir	Kashmiri Hindi	Kashmir	3½ Millions	Srinagar
17. Gwalior	Hindi	Gwalior	3 Millions	Gwalior
18. Indore	Marathi	Indore	1½ Millions	Indore
19. Bhopal	Urdu	Bhupal	½ Millions	Bhopal
20. Patiala	Punjabi Gurumukhi	Patiala	1½ Millions	Patiala
21. Ceylon	Ceylonese	Lanka	4 Millions 330 Millions	Colombo

State Government.—Each State shall be autonomous in its own administration. It will have its own Judiciary, High Court, Education, a University, Constabulary, Public Health, Agriculture and Industry, Finance and State Board of Public Service Competitive Examinations. The Government will be based on universal adult suffrage. There will be a Representative (*Sadasya*) in the State Assembly (*Sabha*) for each 100,000 of rural population and a Representative each for 10,000 for urban population, that is, from towns and cities. Any kind of favouritism or tinge of communalism must not be countenanced. Any citizen will be eligible for any public Service. And every candidate must have to pass the Competitive Examinations of the State Board and will be appointed in the service according to his merit and promoted according to strict rules and regulations. For the promotion of culture and preservation of antiquities, there will be an Academy of Arts and Science (*Sahitya* and *Vignana Parisads*) that will encourage literary productions, artistic creations, industrial activities, technical inventions and scientific researches by suitable means. For the Department of Justice, there will

be a Seminary composed of all the lawyers of the State who will select judicial officers by the majorities of votes or judicial officers may be selected from the law graduates according to their merit as vacancies may arise. Instead of promoting lower Court Judges to High Court Benches according to seniority, it is desirable that these distinguished positions are filled by men of learning, integrity and character by the Seminary. With strict vigilance these will keep down and will kill in time communalism and corruption which are auto-destructive corroding poisons of any government however strong it may otherwise be. Representatives to the Assembly will be elected for five years and they will receive Rs. 600 a year and free travelling on public transports. The representatives will elect the President of the Assembly by a majority of votes for three years. The President will be known as Governor and who will receive Rs. 1200 a month and free residence in the state palace (Raja Prasad) and free travelling in all public transports. The Governor will not be eligible to be a candidate for the re-election of the office nor any ex-governor will be eligible for re-election. Ministers are to be selected from the Representatives. They will receive Rs. 600 per month. There will be ministers of Finance, Education,

Agriculture, Public Health, Justice. The Governor may be styled as *Raja* during the office tenure in conformity with the uses of the country, but the title would neither be hereditary nor personal. It will simply be the designation of the office as the *Raja* of Maharashtra or Andra. The Governor will execute the Will of the Representatives of the people with the help of the Constabulary if needs be,

Federal Government.—The Federal Government will control (1) Currency, (2) Customs, (3) Post-office, (4) Telegraph, Telephone and Wireless, (5) Railways, (6) Navigation, including supervision over Light houses and Coastal-shipping, (7) Army, Navy and Aircrafts.

The Federal Congress or Maha Sabha will consist of nearly 330 Representatives (*Purahits*) of the people, one representative for each million of the population about 33 Representatives of State Assemblies, one representative for each ten millions or Crore of population ; one representative for each fifty thousands of urban population: that is for Calcutta(including Howrah), 22; Bombay, 22 ; Madras 10 ; Hyderabad 9 ; Lucknow; 5 ; Benaras, 5 ; Delhi, 5 ; Lahore, 5 ; Cawnpur, 4 ; Agra, 4 ; Ahmedabad, 4 ; Allahabad, 4 ; Amritswar, 3 ; Jaipur, 3 ; Poona,

3 ; Patna, 3 ; Bereily, 2 ; Nagpur, 2 ; Srinagar, 2 ; Surat, 2 ; Meerat, 2 ; Karachi, 2 ; Madura, 2 ; Trichinopoly 2, Baroda 2, Peshawar 2, Dacca 2, and one member each for 48 other towns—total urban representatives being 134. The entire representatives of the Congress then come to about 547 or 550 members. The representatives to the Congress are to be elected on universal adult suffrage every fifth year as in the State Assembly. The majority party or parties in the Congress will select from among themselves ministers which after being accepted by the Congress will fill their respective portfolios. If there is lack-of-confidence vote on any minister the entire ministry will have to resign. The Cabinet formed by the ministers will have collective and not individual responsibility. There will be ministers of Finance, Commerce, Justice, Education, Public Debts, Public Service, Foreign Affairs and Defence (Army). The ministers of public debts and army may be for the time being nominees of the Viceroy or Governor General who as the representative of British Crown or Parliament may see that India's obligations to Britain are fully carried out. The Congress will frame Civil and Criminal Codes after the pattern of European countries, particularly Switzerland, which shall be the Law of the

land in every state, after making a declaration of the inviolable fundamental rights of the people. The members of the congress will receive Rs. 2500 per year and free travelling in public transports. The ministers will get Rs. 1200 per month.

Minority Rights.—In the *Constitution* to be framed by the *Congress*, if the administrative machinery is to work smoothly, it is necessary that the *Minority rights* are to be safeguarded. Unless the Minorities are assured that their objects and sentiments can not and shall not be infringed upon, we can not count upon receiving their hearty co-operation. And without their co-operation it will be hard to realize our cherished hopes and aspirations. They can not be forced to submission. And if it were even possible, instead of advancing the cause of the country, it would rather retard its progress, for the nation's best efforts would have to be spent in healing the ever-bleeding wounds of communal and racial conflicts. But who are the *Minorities* in India? What are the *Minority rights*? Are the *Minority rights* to go beyond the International Law as formulated in the *Articles of the League of Nations*? If so, are then the interests of majorities to be sacrificed to the preposterous and absurd inflated demands of the Minorities be-

yond the recognition of international acceptance ? Is not India a member of the League of Nations ? If the minorities are not amenable to reason, it is the duty of the British Government to force them to be reasonable, for the minorities have been incited to this insurgent attitude of mind by false hopes and expectations. Otherwise let the League of Nations arbitrate it.

The minorities are the Moslems, the Britishers, Anglo-Indians, Sikhs, Christians and the Parsis. The Sikhs, Parsis and the Christians are nationalists. They do not object to co-operating whole-heartedly with the Hindus for obtaining self-government of the country. Though the Moslems the most important minority community are loudly clamorous of safeguarding their interests, yet it is felt that behind the screen the British element is the real factor in the game. Britain has got a good deal of capital invested in India. Thousands of Britishers are in the service in highly paid positions. India's trade fetches to Britain a fabulaus sum. Directly or indirectly Britain receives an immence benefit from her domineering connection with India. This she is not willing to give up unless she is assured that her vital interests will not be sacrificed.

Freedom is the natural craving of man. It grows in-

volume, intensity and momentum with culture, injustice and economic stress. India's demand for self-government has grown not in hatred but in enlightened self-interest. But self-government is not an end in itself but only a means for the material and moral advancement of the her peoples. This she can not obtain without British good will, co-operation and capital. If the Congress had threatened Boycott of British goods and non-co-operation, it was simply to create an *impression* and to make a moral appeal through *Ahimsa* and *Satyagraha*, non-violence and truth—rather inviting sufferings on self than inflicting pain on others. The *Satyagrahis* suffer in fighting for justice and honour, nation and humanity so that those who thus inflict unnecessary sufferings on these heroic self-less and harmless high priests of humanity may be smitten in their own conscience with repentance and then relent in their course of injustice. This aggressive Moral Appeal, though quite in accordance with the high spiritual traditions of the country, is an unique revolutionary technique in redressing political grievances of a defenceless sujugated people, propounded by no less an unique personality than *Mahatma Gandhi*, noted for his sacrifice, chivalry, honour and uprightness. So there can not be any question of

repudiation of debts or just obligations. As to any discriminating legislation against British nationals or confiscation of their capital or property, the Law of the land will give them ample protection, they being citizens of the common commonwealth will enjoy the same rights and privileges of Indian citizenship. As to their share in public service, if the Britishers are not clamouring for special privileges, they would have no cause of grievance, as being fellow citizens, they would be allowed to compete in any public service Examination on equal footing with Indians. As for their representation in the Legislature urban electoral colleges will be provided for from which they will get their share, they forming an important commercial community. Moreover they will have the most powerful British Navy and Army in occupation to see that the legitimate obligations of India to Britain are fulfilled to satisfaction. After all force is the ultimate sanction of the state and they will get it to their aid if there be need for it. Britain will gain more than lose by satisfying the just and reasonable demands of India. India will be her fast and grateful friend. A prosperous India will be the greatest trading market of Britain. Even she may receive preferential treatment if all India's

demands are acceded to. More than territorial extension, peaceful trade empire is more profitable. Certainly profit counts much more than greed. On the other-hand if England want to rule India by coercion, her moral prestige will be sunk in the lowest bottom. She will be classed with Assyria as oppressor and exploiter of nations and she will be hated of all peoples. Her trade with India, the main source of her profit, will be practically ruined. Verily India holds the key of England's destiny.

Moslems.—If an understanding takes place between nationalist India and British statesmen, then a few disgruntled so called Moslem leaders will soon fall in line with the agreement. Separate electorate is a suicidal game. Even the Britishers who have encouraged them in this intrasigent and insolent attitude have now confessed it to their total discomfiture. The Moslems were simply deluded with the notion of their own self-importance. They are in hopeless minority in almost every state, even in Bengal and Punjab if they are modeled on linguistic basis as it should be. Purnea, Manbhumi, Singhbhum and Saatal Pargana Districts and Assam which are Bengali-speaking must be added to the state of Bengal. Frontier province which has been an-

nected to India simply for strategic and military purposes may be chopped off from the Punjab and garrisoned by England. Neither India has any use for Baluchistan nor Burma, as they are no integral parts of the country. They are British imperial possessions. Let Britain hold them or cede them as she pleases. Except in Bengal, Punjab and Sind, the Moslems are in such an insignificant minority, being less than 30 P. C. of population, that they can not even claim *Minority Rights* according to international uses. So separate electorate instead of safeguarding them would rather jeopardize their interests by alienating the natural sympathy and co-operation of nationalist India. When the official blocks would be removed from the legislatures, the Moslems would not be able to carry out any measure without the co-operation of the Hindus. The Moslems were simply used as a brake against *nationalist movement* and when they have not succeeded in stemming this tide of nationalism, they have served no useful purpose in the imperial game, and they will soon forfeit the patronage they have been enjoying so long. For it is nationalist India that alone can now deliver the *goods* of goodwill, trade opportunities and good return on past and future capital investments.

demands are acceded to. More than territorial exten-

may be attempts of social legislation of common welfare as registration of Births, Marriages, Citizenship, Deaths and enforcement of monogamy, by making bigamy a criminal offence. But these would not be tried before the Moslem community is sufficiently educated to see to their utility, and at least two thirds of their citizens give consent to such measures by referendum. The Moslem claim of reserving their share in public service on population basis is simply preposterous. The public service will be open to all citizens on equal footing through competitive examinations. If the Moslem candidates can not succeed in their examinations and secure jobs in fair proportion, no democracy can remedy sloth and incompetence, for any favouritism shown otherwise will not only demoralize and lead to inefficiency of the service, it will also retard the progress of the Moslems. If the Moslems come to terms with the Hindus on principles of equity, justice and democracy and make an united front, they might get a few more privileges than what are acceded by the League of Nations to minority communities. Let the Moslems instead of chasing in vain tantalizing *Mirage of Hope* face the real problems of educating themselves and uplifting their morals and they can still hold the key position of the nation they so ardently desire.

Depressed Class.—Any solicitude for the welfare of the depressed classes on the part of Britishers seem to be hypocritical. If universal adult franchise be granted, the depressed classes would form the majority and will dictate terms to a few middle class Hindu Nationalists who in demanding the self government for India are making immense sacrifices. These Nationalists never wanted a rule of their class, excluding Moslems or Depressed classes. They want simply National government of the people, by the people and for the people. If they succeed in obtaining self-government, there will be no more *depressed classes*, nor Hindu Moslem problem. The depressed classes of both the Hindus, Moslems and Christians would rise in scale of self-esteem, power, education and efficiency and would form the Proletarian Aristocracy of the democratic Federated States of Hindustan. The Hindus and Moslems will forget their religious differences, thinking only of the unifying link that binds them and devote themselves entirely to mutual service and national peace and prosperity.

Defence.—In the proposed Federal Government, army is a reserved subject. At present it will be futile to object to it. But it is good to remember that with-

out control over the army, Self-Government will be a myth and a mockery. Notwithstanding we have to make the best of our helpless circumstances. The British Government is not likely to make any further concession on this subject. However we can insist that Military colleges for training officers are established in India as soon as possible ; that in schools and colleges physical and military training is made compulsory ; no recruitment should take place in England and all vacancies are to be filled by Indians. Out of total central revenue of about Rs. 88.22, the military expenditure of Rs. 55.10 crores is too excessive. It has to be reduced before it can be reserved. Thirty crores of Rupees are more than sufficient. If more is needed let it be paid by the British Imperial or Commonwealth Funds. India's defence problem is very simple. On three sides India is bounded by oceans. The British Navy can easily guard these at very little cost. The Himalayas on the north stands as an impregnable sentinel. Only the north-western passes need protection. That should not cost more than 15 crores of Rupees with the revolutionary changes of modern warfare as motor transport, airplanes, gas bombs etc, especially when they have to be applied against barbarous semi-civilized

Afghan tribes who possess no technical skill or scientific equipment.

Finance.—Though India's agriculture is primitive and its industries are undeveloped, yet it does not lack in resources for financial prosperity, for 330 millions of its people are its greatest assets. Indirect taxation is the best method of raising revenue, for direct taxation is always and everywhere unpopular. For this heavy custom duties which will protect and encourage home industries as long as it can not stand world's free competition, federal monopoly of salt, sugar, narcotics like tobacco, tea, opium, sprituous drinks and *Cannabis indica*, earnings from Railways, Postage, Stamps, Currency & will more than suffice. Though in this connection it is painful to differ from Mahatma Gandhi who more than anybody else has awakened India to her sense of duty and shown her the way and the vision of Svaraja, yet it is to be admitted that *salt* is a good source of federal income without inflicting any hardship on the poor. Even if 2 or 4 Annas per *seer* are added to the price of salt over its production cost, still it will remain the cheapest commodity of food known without causing any deprivation to any, being at the same time an immense source of Federal Income. This does not mean that a poor man.

on the sea-sore boiling a pan of sea water should be penalized. Not at all. Only manufacturing on a large scale should be forbidden, it being a federal monopoly. The Government manufacturing salt on a gigantic scale on extensive dry ocean beaches and salt lakes and Salt Ranges could produce salt at such a cheap rate, that no private manufacturer can compete with it, though the Government will make out of it crores of Rupees. It is the same with Sugar which everybody needs. Tobacco being a narcotic herb of universal use should not be allowed to be grown by private farmers. It should be only grown on Government farms and the Government should make out of it as much money it can. Opium and drinking should be gradually put out of use by increasing prohibitive taxation. The judicious use of Custom Duty can easily revive and create Indian industries. Suppose there is 50 P.C. duty on imports of textiles and 20 P. C. duty on home manufactures, within a few years India would be able to satisfy all her demands and foreign capitalists will find it very tempting to invest their capital in Indian Cotton Mills. It is so with Steel. Suppose there is 20 P. C. duty on exports of raw hides, tanning industries with bounties will ere long be established in India. An immense quantity of oil seeds are exported

every year. If there is an export duty on them, oil industries would be established in India, and the oil cakes may be used as cattle feed and fertilizers of the soil.

A Federal Reserve Bank is essentially necessary in India, to be based on gold standard. It will issue Currency. It will frame rules and regulations and will regulate Banking business in India. If India's money is based on gold standard, the exchange question of the Rupee would be automatically solved, as it will depend on the gold reserve of the Federal Bank. Any artificial manipulation of exchange is a costly dangerous procedure; like the British Sovereign, U. S. A. five dollar gold coin, German or French 20 Mark or French gold coins, India should have a gold Mohor from Rs. 12-8 to Rs. 15 as desired. Currency notes may be issued for Rs. 5, 10, 25 or 100 denominations. Rupee should be divided on decimal basis into 100 Paishas, 5 Paishas or one Anna, 10 Paishas or two Anna piece, 25 Paishas or Five Anna piece and 50 Paishas or Adhuli, to facilitate accounting and business.

Commerce.—Our weights and measures should be standardized on international basis. One kilogram is equal to 2.204623 lb the avoir. Our official *seer* is equal to

$2\frac{1}{2}$ lb avair. So our *seer* can be easily changed into Kilogram. Our liquid *seer* measure can be easily converted into *Litre*. For business integrity standard weight and measure is essentially necessary. At present weights and measures vary in different parts of the country.

India has only about 40,000 miles of Railways. This is quite inadequate for her needs. For her teeming millions who have learnt to move from their ancient homesteads due to economic stress and for the exploitation of her vast agricultural and mineral resources even the quadruple of the mileage will not suffice. For this money is badly needed and foreign capital may be invited as safe and good investments. The Railways are paying in India inspite of top-heavy expenses and careless administration. The railways have been built essentially for military purposes, and not for public convenience. This has to be remedied. For a poor country like India for passenger traffic two classes of cars are sufficient—one of day coach built of wooden benches for passengers to sit on, and another sleeping car of wide wooden berths about six feet long where passengers could bring their own bedding and sleep, provided with plenty of privies. The former may be

charged 1 Paisha per mile and the latter an Anna per mile. This will not be only inexpensive, but also conducive to neatness, cleanliness and consequently of comforts. The present first and second class coaches are very expensive. However they may be kept as reserve stocks for tourists and rich peoples at special rates. They do not pay their own way. It is hard to keep them clean. They have to be maintained at the cost of the 3rd class passengers. Railways properly conducted will not only add immeasurably to the comforts of the passengers, rapid transport facilities of goods and commodities but can be also made a good source of income.

Public Debts.—A Public Debt commission is needed to remove misunderstanding between England and India. India does not want to repudiate her debts. But it is necessary to know what she really owes. She has been saddled with debts, for example, the inflated shares of the East India Company, Marhatta War, Nepal War, Afghan War, Burma War, China War, even the recent World War which were for British imperial purposes, and not in India's interest.

Justice.—*A Supreme Court*, consisting of 12 permanent Judges, nominated by the High Courts of the

"States" is a vital need. It will not only decide the cases between the Federal Government and the State Governments, but also between the State Governments, as well as hear the final appeals, fulfilling the functions of the Privy Council of the present time. The *Department of Justice* will also see that real grievances of the people are removed and justice is prompt and inexpensive, and corruption is entirely eliminated from the judiciary system as well in other branches of the Government. It may also be another of its functions to see that in the competitive Public Service Examinations, there is no venality, discrimination or favoritism, and Public Service Board is well represented of all Communities, and in the General Elections all citizens—males and females—can cast their votes according to their conscience without undue influence, inducements or intimidations. In democracy, the *will* of the people is the supreme authority of the Government and the fountain head of that authority must be kept pure. India's Nationalism must not only be in its own enlightened self-interest, it must also be made the stepping stone to *Humanity*.

Public Holidays.—Instead of making Sunday as a Public Holiday according to Biblical injunction, it

is better and more appropriate to declare holidays on great national festivals and on the birthdays of men who have contributed something to Humanity. Holidays are meant for rest, recuperation and for pleasure. Sunday does not serve that purpose. It is not possible to visit out of town friends and relatives or an interesting sight and return within a day. But holidays should be confined only to certain offices which can be closed without much public inconvenience as schools, civil courts, administrative departments of the government. The executive offices of the government, hospitals, banks, the police, the police courts, public transports, post, telegraph, newspapers, shops, amusements and markets must be kept open every day. The closing of factories and workshops on public holidays will be optional, as it will depend on private contract between the employers and the employees. Certainly bakeries, dairies, street-cleaning, water-supply, electricity and gas-generating plants can not be closed. Only it is necessary to see that they receive annually a month's leave (including absence for sickness) with full pay.

Instead of day offices during the summer months, it is much more preferable that offices are held in the

mornings between 5 to 8 and in the evenings between 6 to 9 P. M. With brilliant electric illumination evening work may be pleasant. The exposures to the summer mid-day sun and not infrequent afternoon dust storms are not only uncomfortable, but they may be positively harmful to health, nay, dangerous to life itself in some parts of the country.

The Public Holidays may be arranged in the following way—X'mas—7 days ; Easter—5 days ; Dewali—5 days ; Durga Puja—5 days ; Saraswati Puja—5 days ; Holi—5 days ; Maharam—5 days ; Ramjan—3 days ; Krishna's Janmastami—3 days ; Buddha—3 days ; Mahavir—3 days ; Guru Nanak—3 days ; Sankaracharya 3 days ; Chaitanya—3 days ; Zoroaster—3 days ; Laksmi Puja—3 days ; Bhratri Ditia—2 days ; Rhakhi Bandan or Ties of Fraternity—2 days ; Election Day—2 days ; Flag Day—2 days. In this arrangement the holidays come to 75 days, that is, one day in every five days, or one-fifth of the whole year. This is more than what is needed, otherwise work will suffer. However a few more state holidays may be added according to local conventions.

The year may be divided into 13 equal months of 28 days. The odd day will be a public holiday for the half-

yearly clearance of accounts as it now falls on the first of July. Thus every month will consist of four weeks in which Sundays will regularly fall on 1, 8, 15, 22. On every fourth year an additional holiday may be added to the Half-yearly Banker's Day. This will facilitate weekly payments to workers and accounting, and consequently will prevent a good deal of unnecessary friction between the employers and the employees.

Federal Capital.—Delhi, centrally situated, seat of the central government from time immemorial, should have the permanent headquarters of Indian Federation. Beautifully commodious structures have been also erected for that purpose at a fabulous cost. They should be utilized. But the summer months are very unpleasant at Delhi. Regular exodus to Simla of all offices is not only inconvenient and expensive, it is also undesirable. Simla, of course built at an immense cost, effort and great engineering skill, need not and should not be deserted. It can be used as a fashionable summer resort and the hot weather residence of the Governor General. But the Congress Session may take place in Delhi in months of February and March which are delightful with spring weather. Calcutta has beautiful climate in December and January. Congress Session

may be held in Patna in April and May ; in Madras in June and July ; in Bombay in August and September , in Lahore in October and November . By this arrangement almost all the important States can take just pride in having the National Congress holding their Sessions in their capitals in rotation . This will intensify State interests in the Federation and will be an excellent means of intensifying National and Federal unity .

National Language.—The State Administration can be easily conducted in the dominant vernacular of the province . But *Hindi* seems to be the only suitable medium for conducting the business of the *Federal Government*. It is spoken by nearly 230 millions of people. It is understood everywhere, except possibly in some remote corners of Dravida. It is cognate in speech and script to Marathi, Gujrati, Bengali and Oriya. During the transitional period, to obviate practical difficulties both English and Hindustani may be used in Federal Government as it may prove convenient. The English has many advantages. It is an international language of diplomacy and commerce. Though Devanagri character is phonetically much superior to the Roman Type, yet the Roman Type is simple and clear.

in outline, easily written and read and is simpler and less expensive in type-setting and type-writing. If Roman alphabet with a few diacritical differentiative marks could be used in writing Hindustani instead of Devanagri or Arabic alphabets, it will be a great advance. But it is not likely to be acceptable to the majority of Indians. As between Devanagri and Arabic, Devanagri is certainly preferable. For Arabic is not only phonetically much inferior, it is also very clumsy and can not be easily read as many of the alphabets are only demarcated from each other through a few doubtful point marks.

In the State Public Schools and Colleges, the vernacular of the province, Hindustani and English should be made compulsory. Of course if within a State there is an important minority community having more than 75 P. C. population in the Commune and there is demand by the Community for instruction through their particular language and script, at public State expense such an education should be provided. But in no public school sectarian religious education should be allowed to be imparted. And any school indulging in this denationalizing activity would forfeit the State grant-in-aid. Only in High Schools and Colleges

Comparative Religion may be studied as a branch of Sociology and History of Religious Movements.

If any interesting temple, mosque, *Chailya*, *Vihara* or Church of antiquarian, historical or architectural significance is ceded to the State to be kept as a relic or as a Museum, it will be repaired and maintained at the State expense. But no religious ceremony will be allowed to be performed therein. Ancient forts and palaces of course would be preserved and maintained by the State as Museums and Parks. The places which are both of archeological and religious importance, and there is controversy of ownership, as Budha Gaya, Nalanda, Saranath, Taksasila (Taxila), Somanath Temple, the State Government indemnifying the present owners should manage them, permitting the pilgrims the performances of their religious ceremonies, at the sametime keeping the rest of the precincts open to the sight seers and tourists.

With liberal education, with equality of rights and opportunities, impartial Justice and administration of law, with peace and prosperity as natural consequence of Self-Government, whatever racial, linguistic or religious differences may exist at present will soon be irrecoverably sunk into oblivion of the past, and India

will show what astounding and dazzling progress she can make in Science, Arts, Civilization and in the realization of the Brotherhood of Man.

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